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THE NAIL HIT ON THE HEAD;

OR, THE

TWO JONATHANS

AGREEING TO SETTLE

THE SLAVE QUESTION

WITH OR WITHOUT MORE FIGHTING,

AS THE SOUTH PLEASES.

BY

PACIFICATOR.

NEW HAVEN:
PUBLISHED BY THOMAS H. PEASE.
SOLD BY ROSS & TOUSEY, NEW YORK.

1862.

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27-5
Leonard Bacon

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Entered,
According to Act of Congress, in the year 1862,
BY THOMAS H. PEASE,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Connecticut.

EMANCIPATION WITH COMPENSATION.

A MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO JONATHANS.

"What is the news, Mr. South?"

"Everything is going to destruction as it relates to our country, Mr. North. The Union is sundered, and I see no remedy."

"I think there is a cure for it, South, if the two sections would adopt it. But in this day of excitement it is hardly possible to obtain a hearing; and besides, nothing should stand in the way of the vigorous prosecution of this war for the maintenance of the laws and the Constitution as our fathers bequeathed them to us.

"The motive of your leaders in this desperate rebellion has been their own elevation to political power through the instrumentality of slavery. If the best Government ever presented to the world seemed an obstacle, then they decreed that that Government should be destroyed. If they fail in that undertaking, and their cherished institution receives its death-blow, they have none to blame but themselves.

"While it is true that the object of this war is not to emancipate any person from legal service, there is still a strong desire pervading the North that some plan may be adopted for the removal of slavery from our country, that it may never become again, the disturber of its peace.

"Whatever may *be the character* of slavery, it ought to be given up. 'If it be wrong,' says Mr. Wadsworth, of Kentucky, 'it ought not to be permitted to exist anywhere; but if it be right, as I contend it is, it is an outrage upon me and my constituents to attempt its overthrow through the present war.' That does not follow. A thing may be lawful which is not expedient. If the peace, happiness and liberty of 30,000,000 of people be endangered by it, have they not as much claim for consideration as the interests of 400,000 slaveholders?

"If the 'present war' has been commenced for the perpetuity

and extension of slavery, and bringing with it, as it has, the desolation and woe which now spreads over the land, then it would appear very reasonable that if the 'present war' shall be instrumental of removing slavery from our country, so that it shall never again be an element of danger to its prosperity, then Mr. Wadsworth and every other true patriot ought heartily to acquiesce in its removal. If any State in the Union should abhor slavery, it is Kentucky. What else would have arrayed her citizens against each other with such deadly hostility? What removes from the human heart every kind and humane sensibility like it?

"But, 'slavery is right,' says Mr. Wadsworth. Can a system be right which begins its existence by stirring up wars among an unenlightened people—purchasing the conquered, if possible, and stealing those which cannot be bought? Right—to tear such people from their kindred and friends, stow them on board of ships, many of them to suffocate and die, and then to transport such as survive to our shores? Right—to expose their persons, especially those of females, with as little regard to delicacy as you would expose a horse or a mule? Right—to separate husbands from their wives, and children from their parents, never to meet again? Right—to deprive these creatures of God of every right dear to manhood? Right—to refuse them every protection in their domestic relations, and transfer them by sale as you would a beast or a bale of cotton? Is it right to degrade their minds, blunt their intellects, and deny them the means of education? Is it right to uphold a system which promotes sensuality among the whites and the blacks? Is it right to deny the sacredness of marriage, and make it possible, and sometimes necessary, that a parent should sell his own children to save himself from bankruptcy? Can a tree bearing such fruit be a good tree? And now, while slavocrats, like bloodhounds, are surrounding our National Capital, ready to consume our vitals, for a man to rise up in the councils of our Nation and declare before God and that assembly that 'slavery is right,' shows how far the power of education or interest may influence a mind, otherwise, it may be, humane and just. Has the Emperor of Russia, with one stroke of his pen, removed the bonds of servitude from 20,000,000 of his people, and shall America sit by and hear the cry of the oppressed until it reach the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, and remain unmoved? Have we no fears that the rust of the gold and the silver—the hire of these laborers which has been kept back by fraud—

will witness against the partakers in this guilt, 'eating their flesh' as it were fire? Remember, the greater the pile of the treasure thus acquired, the swifter the witness.

"It has been hard for the people of the North to believe that the secession efforts were anything else than a scheme of politicians to alarm us, that they might obtain such concessions as should more effectually establish the slaveholding power. That this Government, under which we have so happily and so prosperously lived for so many years, was in danger of being broken up, had not entered our minds. We now perceive the desperate character of our assailants. South Carolina, by her conduct, raised the cloud, small at first. The firing on a merchant steamer, bearing the national flag and carrying provisions to a starving garrison, increased it. The dishonor done our national colors, the seizing of forts, arsenals and mints, and the attempt to seize our national capital, have given density to it. The lightnings flash, and there is a rumbling of thunder. Our northern hills and mountains are shaking, and that cloud will pour out its fury upon the heads of those who have so wantonly raised it.

"When Jefferson Davis offered to the men of the North a welcome to 'hospitable graves,' and the points of southern steel and the smell of southern powder, he should have remembered that there are graves of hospitality for his own people, and an opportunity for them to try the mettle of northern steel and the perfumery of northern powder. Did he expect to throw bomb shells among us and not receive bomb shells in return? He and his associates inaugurated this war, and they must now take the consequences.

"Mercy to all concerned demands its prosecution with energy. No means of destruction known to modern warfare must be withheld. A storm of fire must be poured out on your rebellious legions until they have cried enough. Your leaders persuaded your people that the North were cowards and powerless. This deception must be unmasked by the thunder of our artillery, and the tramp of our squadrons, as they spread over your southern soil to vindicate themselves from the foul aspersions of the guilty projectors of this infamous rebellion. This is no child's play, Mr. South.

"When this has been done, and the South is inclined for a settlement, it will be a good time to get at the causes of our

troubles, and provide, if possible, the true remedy. In the meantime, South, perhaps it would not be amiss to talk over this matter in a quiet way, and if the suggestions I have to make are of any value, they may hereafter be considered.

"The truth is, if your people were now inclined to quit their warlike attitude, and retire to their homes, I have no doubt but the terms I am about to suggest would be accepted. Mr. Clay used to say that the North could well afford to be generous. So the South would find us, if they would regard the day of their visitation."

"But, North, what do you say as to the constant invasion of 'Southern rights?' "

"What right of the South has been invaded by the United States Government? Put your finger on one, if you can. Instead of that, concession has followed concession. Tariffs have been adopted and repealed at your will. Millions of dollars have been expended for your convenience and your protection. Laws have been enacted to meet your demands. We have chased, seized and returned your fugitives, to prevent your complaints. We have done everything for you which you required, except consenting to the establishing of slavery in new territories uncursed by its presence. So far as the Government is concerned you have no right to complain. If individuals have condemned your domestic institution, other individuals have as freely defended it.

"The 'Rights of the South' has been your watchword in taverns and hotels, on rail cars, in assemblies, in halls of legislation, to summon your citizens to the work of folly in which they are engaged. But has the North no rights? Let us see how they have been regarded.

"In 1789 our fathers adopted a Constitution for the Government of the United States. Since that period we have added to the domain so that now it embraces an area of 3,260,000 square miles. Large sums of money have been expended for our mutual safety and accommodation on harbors, forts and fortifications, roads, light-houses, etc.

"That Constitution gives to citizens of each State a title to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' It allows no abridgment of the 'freedom of speech or of the press.' The right of transit to and fro over the breadth and the length of the land was equally intended for every citizen of the Uni-

ted States. How have these rights been respected? Northern men, upon mere suspicion that they would not swear by the law, and especially by the Gospel, that the taking, holding, buying and selling human beings as property was just and humane, have been seized, stripped, scourged, tarred and feathered, and their persons degraded in a most brutal and barbarous manner. If they have dared, at any time, to express a doubt as to the rightfulness of slavery, they have been whipped on the bare back, and then hung without jury or judge. These are facts that cannot be denied. Union or no Union, such conduct will not hereafter be tolerated.

"It is true that there are high-minded men at the South who would not sanction such proceedings, but they have not, to any great extent, been willing to raise their voices against such barbarism."

"But, North, you know we have been sleeping over a mine ready to be exploded at any time."

"Then, South, you had better wet your powder. The sooner the better. An institution which will not allow the light of discussion bears upon its front the evidence that it is essentially wrong.

"Whether slavery be morally right or not; whether it produces a virtuous state of society or otherwise; whether God ever approved of such a thing as human bondage in this or any other age of the world, we will not stop further to consider; but whether we shall have a Government, holding up its shield for the protection of the weak as well as the strong, is a question in which we are mutually and deeply interested.

"In the settlement of this great question we should not only enquire how can peace be restored between the North and the South, but—how is harmony to be established among the citizens of the South themselves?

"The great difficulty now is to reach the southern masses. Will they allow themselves to be still deceived? Will they still forge their own chains and dig their own graves at the command of the men who are playing this game of tyranny? Are your people willing, with their own hands, to blot out every vestige of freedom for themselves and for their children, and break away from the privileges which have been bequeathed to them by their fathers at the cost of their blood and treasure? What does Jefferson Davis propose to give, that you do not possess? What

under the 'heavens' are you fighting for? Is it for freedom of speech? a free press? free schools? a free gospel? None of these. The only free thing which he seems to intend for you is that you may have a free trade with Africa; free to loiter about her shores and kidnap her innocent people; free to crowd them in Confederate ships, and transport them with all the horrors of 'the middle passage' across the ocean, and land them on Confederate shores. Free to expose them, without regard to age, sex or decency, on the block of the auctioneer, for sale to the highest bidder, who may then consign them to a life of unrequited toil, and in this last act sunder them from friends and every sympathy which may have bound them together on that voyage of woe. And such is the freedom which Mr. Alexander Stephens calls the highest state of civilization. What a 'chief corner-stone' for a kingdom!!!

"But dark as the cloud is that overspreads our country, and determined as the men are, who originated our troubles, to keep up the strife, we must not cease our efforts to bring it to a close. How great are the incentives! Let us glance at them for a moment.

"Could the plan which I am about to propose, or something like it, be adopted, how soon all sectional strife would cease! Mutual interests would then prevail. The North would again resound with the music of her machinery. The whole population would rise as by enchantment from this death-like condition to life and vigor. The great West would till her lands and sow her seeds in peace. The South, happy in her new condition, would plant her broad acres with a serenity and joy heretofore unknown. The public lands, thrown open to actual settlers, at a small price, would be occupied by hardy men from the old and from the new world. 'The earth would bring forth its increase, and God, even our God, would bless us.'

"If this plan, or something like it, were consummated this day by the people of the United States, it is believed its real estate would increase in value sufficient to pay any reasonable sum which might be proposed for purposes of emancipation.

"What would it do for Virginia with her mines and forests, and water-courses and lands? Their increased value would be worth more than those lands and her negroes together, before the strife began. What for Tennessee—and more especially, Eastern Tennessee, with a climate unsurpassed in the world—

a land now, with all the drawbacks of slavery, 'flowing with milk and honey?' I mention these States because the travel is so easy between them and the North that multitudes of our farmers and others would establish themselves there, if it were not for your 'domestic institution.'

"How delightful then would be the social intercourse between the North and the South! Your vigilance committees would have no employment; your schools and seminaries would be filled with our educated youth without suspicion or alarm; our business intercourse need never to be disturbed again; the vast granaries of the West would pour their abundance at your feet for the support of your people; the manufactures of the North would again be exchanged for the products of your cotton fields, and this glorious heritage, left us by our fathers, would be fastened together with bands of iron and cords of love. There would be nothing to annoy or destroy on the mountains or the plains of our noble country.

"At peace among ourselves and with the rest of the world, the sails of our merchant ships would whiten every ocean, carrying with them the surplus products of our soil, and returning laden with the fruits and fabrics of other climes. Entering into no 'entangling alliances' with foreign nations, but cultivating friendship with them all, how grand would be our destiny! With a hundred millions of people inhaling the pure air of freedom, covering this continent and grouped in States with Constitutions giving equal protection to all, and bound together under a General Government founded in truth and righteousness, what could hinder our exaltation as a people, or prevent our march in spreading the principles of Christianity, civilization, and constitutional liberty over the world!"

"Truly, your trumpet, North, has the right sound, and may the good Lord speed you in this work. If the people of the South could have believed that such sentiments prevailed to any great extent at the North, we should never have been enticed into this unnatural contest. But let us have your plan."

"Take a seat, my friend South, take that new pipe; here is a little pure Virginia, try its quality and be patient with me and I will endeavor to give you my scheme."

"North, I rather like you, after all; at any rate, I think you are sincere, whatever may be your mistakes."

"South, I like *you*, and there is no reason why there should be any other feeling between us. Your father fought at King's Mountain and mine at Bunker Hill for the cause of freedom, and now let us maintain those principles in defense of which they so nobly died."

"Let me say here that there is throughout the Northern States a determination, that there must be some day settled upon by the North and the South when slavery in this country shall cease—whether it be a longer or a shorter period before it shall take place. The day must be fixed, or we need not expect a permanent peace, however successfully we may patch up our present difficulties.

"Now is the time to begin to dig up this tree by the roots, that it may then be sawn up, and then split up, and then burned up, and its ashes scattered so widely that they can never be found again.

"But I repeat the question. If the North and the South can once more be harmonized, how are the people of the South to be led to an agreement among themselves? Let us look at this matter for a moment.

"Suppose the property of the disloyal citizens of the South should be confiscated, while the possessions of those who have adhered to the Government shall be fully secured to them. What is to become of the rebellious citizens? Are they to be driven out of the country? or are they to remain a part of the communities where they have resided? If they remain with little or nothing left for their support; their lands sold, their servants free, what sort of a time do you suppose the people of such a district would have? Would it not require a standing army to keep the peace? And then, again, whole counties have been plundered, houses have been destroyed, fields have been trampled, crops have been stolen, and outrages committed which may not be mentioned. How are these injuries to be repaired and these wounds healed

"I would say to such a deceived and suffering people: You have been guilty of great folly as well as great crime. You have wickedly endeavored to sap the foundation of the best Government the world ever witnessed, and whatever may have led you to the enterprise, whether ambition or misrepresentation, it makes but little difference. Now, then, stop your mad career, lay down your rifles and again take the oath of allegiance to a Gov-

ernment ready to protect and save you. All such as would do this I would treat with lenience, and restore them, as far as possible, to their former condition. To such, however, as still bid defiance to the United States Government, I would say: Take your choice—transportation or death. You cannot be permitted to remain on this soil as disturbers of the peace of the Nation."

"You intend then, to subdue us and afterwards restore us, Mr. North?"

"We do intend to subdue you, South, or be subdued by you. The idea of the division of these States, to be under the control of two Governments, must not be entertained for a moment. All dissatisfied persons can retire from our country if they please, but to remain, and openly plot its ruin, will not be allowed. Less than one dozen men, (said Mr. Stephens of Georgia,) are the conspirators who have been the authors of the great calamity now upon us. Such men are fit companions for Judas Iscariot, to whose 'place' they are rapidly hastening. The Hydra, secession, must be strangled, and 'now's the time and now's the hour.'

"Restore you? Happy would it be for our country if that could be done. If we could open the thousands of fresh graves and return to the firesides of once rejoicing families, both north and south, in life and strength, the noble youth that have fallen—could we empty our hospitals of the languishing and dying, and give them health and vigor—could we heal our wounded soldiers and restore the limbs they have lost—could we bring back the universal prosperity which we enjoyed at the beginning of this war—then indeed it would be a glorious restoration. But that is beyond our power. The momentous question is, how are you to be restored, and the Constitution preserved? By subduing *you* we do not destroy *that*. In the settlement of a business affair you know that we sometimes 'give and take.' I reckon we shall have to do so in this matter.

"What we want is this. It is that the recognition of slavery, real or implied, shall be swept from the Constitution in a legal way,* and then that your slaveholders (excepting the infamous leaders) shall be compensated for the emancipation of their slaves in a manner which shall be both safe and satisfactory."

"Now, North, you have struck the right vein. Spread these views before the people."

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* See 5th Article of the Constitution.

"If our troubles were thus settled, friend South, it would be a permanent restoration, and prevent that revolution which may hereafter follow if the 'vexed question' is left to be again used as a 'hobby horse' for ambitious politicians to ride into power.

"But you can never subjugate us, says Governor Letcher, of Virginia. Subjugate!! To what? I answer, simply to constitutional liberty. It is the subjugation of a recreant, wandering child to a cheerful and happy home. Why, the voices of famishing thousands are heard along your mountains and through your valleys. 'There is bread enough and to spare in our father's house, and why should we perish on these husks?' Depend upon it, Governor Letcher, neither you nor your 'Golden Circle' will be able to deceive the people much longer.

"You have told them to

> "'Strike for their altars and their fires,'
> 'Their native land and *noble sires;'"

"but if they get two licks for one 'strike' it wont be very desirable. All your hypocritical addresses to your soldiers about altars, firesides, homes, &c., are now perfectly understood as designed merely for effect. You know, and the leaders of your armies know, that wherever the Union troops have gone, they have carried with them protection to your people.

"True, I have taken it for granted that our Northern armies will be successful. I do not say this in a boastful manner, knowing very well that the 'race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;' but, nevertheless, it looks now very much as if the heaviest battalions are to prevail.

"Let no one hinder us in this work. Hands off, old England! The visit of your youthful Prince had filled our land with pleasure, removing the last vestige of ill-feeling which may have existed from former contests. As he passed from city to city we hailed his advent with joy. We had hoped that it would be instrumental of binding the two Nations more closely together, in diffusing abroad the principles of a true civilization, and the blessings of Christianity. We had looked for your sympathy, if not your coöperation, in putting down the men who are ready with their success to establish more firmly the enormities of the

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* Such as Mason, Slidell, and "Bob Toombs."

slave trade, and the cruelties and oppressions of slavery in the States they represent, and to extend those influences throughout the world. Nay, more, they would brush the crown from the head of your own Victoria, if it were possible, that they might cover the earth with the darkness of their own foul designs.

"It is a little surprising that while the stoning up of a single Southern port should have roused the indignation of your merchants, that they should have no rebuke for the rebels of the South, for their infamous destruction of more than one hundred light-houses on the Southern coast, which have been erected by this Government for the benefit not only of our own commerce, but for the marine of the world. Thus they have endangered the lives of thousands, and the ships of all nations.

"You have now with you the noted Mason, from the city of Richmond, (the only place in the United States where the Prince of Wales received uncourteous treatment,) and the author of the 'Fugitive Slave Law.'

"You have Slidell, the patron of the renegade Walker, the invader of Central America. Are you ready to join these hitherto defamers of England in a crusade against civil liberty? We cannot believe it.

"England and America united, how grand might be their career in the amelioration of the world!

"Survey our own continent. Look at the vast fields waiting for the plowman, and the wide-spread forests ready for the axe of the woodman. Let the surplus population of all nations come and possess the land, to break up the rich prairies and cut down those lofty trees. Let them bring with them the principles of a rational liberty, and plant, as they go, the institutions of freedom.

"Now is the hour for England to aid in the great work of the world's emancipation. Or she may, by an ungenerous interference in the struggle which our country is making to save itself from the hand of despotism, lend her influence in establishing a tyranny which, in the end, may 'bind her Kings with chains and her nobles with fetters of iron.'

"Here, then, is the plan I would suggest:

"Emancipation to the slave and compensation to the master.

"1. All persons held as slaves in any portion of the United States, and all persons who shall hereafter be born and held as slaves in this country, previous to the fourth of July, 1876, (what a glorious centennial celebration!) shall, on that day, be free with-

out compensation to those who may legally hold them under the laws of the State where they reside, and involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall thereafter cease, whatever may be the laws existing in said States to the contrary notwithstanding.

"2. All loyal citizens of the United States, and all persons who have taken up arms against the United States, who are the owners of slaves, or who may become owners of slaves by inheritance, or by the increase of slaves owned by said persons under the laws of the States wherein they dwell, and who shall take the oath of allegiance to the said United States on or before the first day of May next, and who may choose to liberate their slaves previous to the first day of July, 1876, shall be paid for them at a fair valuation, from the treasury of the United States, under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by its Government and the several States in which slavery now exists—only excepting the most infamous leaders. It being understood that ten per cent. of that valuation shall be retained by said Government and paid to the said slaves on the day of their emancipation.

"3. All persons who may be brought into the United States as slaves from any foreign country shall be free, and such persons, at their request, shall be returned to the countries whence they came, under the direction and at the expense of the Government of the United States.

"4. There shall hereafter be no transfer made of slaves, by sale or otherwise, without their consent; except in cases where it may become necessary to make such transfers in consequence of the death of owners or their bankruptcy, and under such regulations that the slave shall be allowed to select his or her own master, and the master of his or her children, if they have any.

"Let us now review the several points we have reached:

"1. Ultimate Emancipation *without* compensation.

"We are met just here with the question, Why do you continue the system of slavery a day longer, if it be morally wrong? By this you do great injustice to the slave. We make no plea for its continuance. We only fix a day when it shall cease, and open a door at once into which the slaveholder may enter and voluntarily arrange with the Government for the immediate release of the slave by receiving an equivalent in money. *If* it be morally wrong to hold a human being as a slave, then he that does so holds him at his peril, and he will find the period mentioned sufficiently long to accumulate his guilt, and eternity will be of

sufficient duration to endure the frown of God's displeasure. But may it not be true that the slaveholder, in a measure, relieves himself of that guilt when he signifies to the Government his willingness to part with his bondman, and only waits the carrying out the details of the proposed plan? It appears to me he does. If it still be said that the Government is bound to emancipate the four millions of slaves now in the United States at once, I would ask, is it also bound to make immediate provision for them? Can it be done? It is replied, give them freedom and they will take care of themselves. That may be true, to a certain extent, say, if you please, one half the number. Then there are left two millions to be cared for. They must be clothed and fed. Suppose it would cost twenty cents a day for each, that will amount to $400,000 per day, and $146,000,000 a year. What is to be done with the emancipated? Are they to remain on the soil, or are they to be colonized in some foreign country? Then that territory must be purchased. They must be removed. Implements of husbandry must be provided. This arrangment costs money. Where is it to come from? It is doubtful whether it could be raised for this purpose, while it is very probable it may be for the plan of compensation. But it is said, have faith in God. So we should. He can again multiply the 'loaves and fishes to feed so great a multitude,' if it be best. But God never performs a miracle unless there is a necessity, and the necessity for the performance of one in this case is not so obvious. If one is to be performed at all in this matter, it would seem to be to change the hearts of the masters, so that they would be inclined to emancipate their slaves. Retain them on the soil, hire them as laborers, and then receive from the Government of the United States such a sum of money as might be agreed upon for the surrender of what they regard as property so legalized by the laws of the States wherein they dwell.

"It is such a change of relationship which I am striving to accomplish.

"What say you, South?"

"North, you have hit the nail on the head. There are thousands of Southern men who would gladly accept of such an arrangement. I perceive you have fixed a period when slavery shall cease *at any rate*, and then, in the meantime, such changes can be made as may appear best, without doing violence to any living thing."

"2. We have now reached the second item, and that is, Immediate Emancipation *with Compensation*.

"'But,' says the objector, 'why compensate at all? If your neighbor had taken a valuable property from another, it would hardly be expected he should receive compensation for simply returning it.' That is true. But the case is hardly parallel. Let us examine it.

"At the adoption of the Constitution slavery existed in nearly every State in the Union. The capitalists of the Northern States had their money invested in ships, whose pathway on the ocean between this country and Africa was constant and uninterrupted, and freighted with the bodies of the poor negro. In process of time that nefarious trade was broken up, and slavery abolished in the Northern States. No doubt there were slaves sold by Northern men to Southern planters, but not half the number that have been charged upon us. It is probable that in some instances all one's property consisted in slaves, and it is not improbable that such persons made the best bargain they could in the disposal of their slaves to their Southern neighbors.

"So, now, there are multitudes at the South whose whole estate consist in slaves, which the State legalizes as property. So they deem it. They have been educated to believe that they hold it rightfully. They have been instructed from the Old Testament and from the New, by Bishops, Priests and Rabbis, that American slavery is in accordance with the Divine will.

"These men have spent much time and learning to establish so infamous a heresy. When they have been asked on what principle they enslave an African, rather than an Englishman, they point us to Ham, one of the sons of Noah. If not quite satisfied with that authority, and we still enquire why they sanction the enslaving of a black man, rather than a white one, they point us to Canaan, a grandson of Noah, and while we ponder over these reasons, we hear the verdict of the civilized world saying that the curse of Ham, and his son Canaan, *has about run out*. We hear, also, the voices of indignant multitudes declaring that such teachers ought to be slaves themselves. Why don't they direct us to Solomon and his concubines to prove the rightfulness of polygamy now?

"Miserable men, there is a 'terrible sound in their ears' dooming them to an execration more deserving than many slaveholders themselves. Many of the persons who hold slaves at the South,

under such instruction, are widows and orphans. The moment you pass an act of emancipation without financial aid, you make them bankrupts and helpless.

"Now, taking into view the connection we have had with the origin of slavery, and the influence we have exerted in its perpetuity, and then at the condition which emancipation would entail on thousands residing at the South, it would certainly be a measure of generosity, to assist them financially in changing this relation, although we might not be called upon to do so by a strict regard to equity. What could more effectually bind them to this Government than such a course as that?

"3. Immediate emancipation *without* compensation. Such slaves as reach our shores through the slave-trade, are free, of course, and should be returned to their native land, if they desire it.

"4. If the sale and transfer of slaves were prevented, one of the crushing evils of slavery would be swept away, whatever became of the other suggestions we have made. The separation of kindred and the sundering of human ties would cease. God never created a human soul with sympathies to be trifled with, much less to be trampled upon, and those who may have been in such a practice may find a severe account to settle at the day of judgment."

"But suppose, North, you had now the consent of the slave States to your project, and it was fully agreed to by this Government, I should like to propose to you these four questions:

"1. How much money do you think it would require?

"2. How do you expect to raise it?

"3. How is the money to be appropriated, when obtained?

"4. What are you going to do with or for the negroes, after they are free?"

"I will endeavor, South, to answer your questions in their order. But before I proceed, I should like to ask you what sum you think would be requisite?"

"Yankee fashion—but I will answer. I think before the war commenced, the South would have required a thousand millions of dollars, but as the case stands, I think five hundred millions would 'pay the bill.'"

"Precisely the sum I had supposed. So in this we are agreed. That sum is a large one, but how much may we expect the cost of a five years civil war will be, to say nothing of the distress thus

brought to every household in the land? Contrast such a state of things with the permanent peace of our country, and five hundred millions would be as dust in the balance."

"2. But how is that sum to be raised?"

"I answer, by a revenue derived from importations of twenty-five millions annually, over and above the Government expenses, for e term of twenty years; and if it were found impossible to raise that amount in that form, I would employ a portion of the public lands, or I would submit to a direct tax, if it could be raised in no other way. Or perhaps a better plan would be to issue treasury notes as they might be required, payable in twenty years at 6 per cent. interest. We have a population of 30,000,000 people. The tax, if it may be so termed, would be eighty-three cents for each inhabitant annually, for the term of twenty years. Set that sum against the restoration of quiet and prosperity to this great people, and how would the account stand? The conflict now raging finds parents and children in opposite ranks,—members of the same family in great numbers staining their hands with each others' blood. Eighty-three cents from each of the inhabitants of this country annually is all I ask to hush up this deadly strife, and spread over this land the sunshine of peace."

"3. How is the money to be appropriated?"

"This is the most difficult part of the subject. It relates to valuation. This would embrace age, capacity, time of service. It would need wisdom, talent, and much labor to arrange the matter. Such is the magnitude of the object, it might require a permanent commission or separate bureau of the Government for the consummation of so great a work. Four hundred thousand slaveholders to be met and settled with is no small undertaking. The greater the difficulties the greater the triumph in overcoming them. Time would be required to adjust this matter. Long established customs and habits cannot be swept away at once. Many masters would prefer to dissolve the relation at once and take their money. Others would prefer to continue the relation and await events to determine their course of action. Multitudes of old people would probably remain on the estates (if not called to a better world) till the day of emancipation. So you see, South, there would be no necessity for violent changes. 'Where there is a will you know, there is a way.' The money thus annually raised, if not immediately required, might be loaned to States desiring it for internal improvements, or invested in stocks of the United

States, and thus held for purposes of emancipation. Whether the sum mentioned is too much or too little, or the time too long or too short, is a matter of no consequence. If this war and its cause can be settled with money, let it be done at any cost. Of what account is wealth without security? What value are our marble palaces to us, or your beautiful villas to you, if possessed with the apprehension of approaching armies to scatter with them desolation? I ask, with deep solemnity, for what purpose is all this waste?"

"4. What shall be done with the African population, after they are free?"

"You will perceive that sufficient time to adopt some safe arrangement has been mentioned. Many of them will find their way to the coast of Africa, in connection with the free people of color in this country who are going there. As they become enlightened and educated they perceive the inequality to which they are doomed while resident here. Such is the prejudice against them, it is quite impossible for them to rise to places of influence, whatever may be their talents and character. They are shut out from the privileges of schools and colleges and trades and merchandising to such an extent that the time has arrived for them, in their opinion, to peaceably leave our shores and find an asylum where they can live on terms of equality. Others will go to Hayti, and perhaps some to Liberia. In many instances they have friends there whom they will follow. There will be some who will settle in the free States and become cultivators of the soil, when the atrocious laws shall be repealed which prevent a free colored man, however virtuous and intelligent, to become resident among them. Shame on such 'black laws' if they still exist."

"But a large proportion of the emancipated would remain on the soil where they are needed. Why should they remove? You might as well part with the steam engines of the North as to send these people away. To expend money in the purchase of lands out of the United States, for the purpose of colonizing the colored people, would seem to be a mistaken policy. If it be true that the negro is much better adapted to the climate of the southern States than are the whites, why dispense with the labor of the black population? Now, North, you have reached the end of your emancipation journey. The white and black race can never live together on southern soil, if the latter are free."

"Why not, South? They live together now with all the irri-

tation of a condition of bondage. Why can they not live together with the advantages of freedom?"

"Ah, Sir, you do not understand their character. They are too lazy to work, unless they are compelled."

"That's precisely what I do understand. I have been among them; I have employed them; and I'll venture to say that I have obtained much more labor out of them, by kind treatment, than others have obtained out of the same men, in the same time, by the lash. If they cannot be reached in that way, and are, as you say, too lazy to work, *why*, *then*, *let them starve*. That is God's ordination, and there is no necessity for us to change it. If the owner of a plantation cannot learn the art of getting more labor out of freemen than out of slaves, at the same cost, then he had better sell his farm and engage in some other employment.

"But here is a case in point. The noble La Fayette, when he returned from France, in 1785, felt strongly urged, by a sense of duty, to effect the emancipation of slaves in the colony of Cayenne. He accomplished it. Thirty thousand dollars were expended in the purchase of plantations and slaves, for the sole purpose of proving, by experiment, the safety and good policy of conferring freedom. He employed a prudent and amiable gentleman at Paris to undertake the business. This gentleman, being fully instructed in La Fayette's plans and wishes, sailed for Cayenne. The first thing he did, when he arrived, was to collect all the cart-whips and other instruments of punishment, and have them burned, amid a general assemblage of the slaves! He made known to them the laws and rules by which the estates were to be governed, the design of which was to encourage industry by making it the means of freedom. This new kind of stimulus had a most favorable effect on the slaves, and resulted in complete success."

"But there's the old grudge in their bosoms, North, that would break out in revenge, if they were made free."

"In this I think you are mistaken. Your danger lies more in the idea of perpetual bondage than in that of prospective freedom. The recent doctrine of perpetual slavery many of them understand as well as you do. It quenches all hope for the future. An old but likely negro said to a friend of mine once, 'I have a good master and a good home. I have no disposition to leave it; but, massa, my children I see they must be negro slaves forever and ever; that makes me sometimes very mad.'

"Now let us change the scene. Suppose it were known through-

out the South that some plan had been adopted for the future emancipation of themselves and children, even if it were remote. What a thrill of joy would go from heart to heart! What a jubilee in every cabin, from one end of your southern region to the other! What a motive for labor! The burning revenge, of which you speak, would be quenched by gratitude and love. Such has been the result in other and similar cases."

"What about St. Domingo, Mr. North?"

"It is not a parallel case. If you wish to examine that question you will find it rather strengthens my position than weakens it. We have not time to go into details. Please notice the three following things:—

"1st. There was a bloody civil war before the act of emancipation was passed in St. Domingo.

"2d. Emancipation produced the happiest effects.

"3d. All was quiet until Bonaparte made his infamous attempt to restore slavery to the island.

"The massacres of St. Domingo are not chargeable to emancipation, but to an attempt to re-enslave those whom the Government had made free.

"Col. Malenfant, a slave proprietor and resident of St. Domingo, at the time, in his 'Historical and Political Memoirs of the Colonies,' says:—

"After the public act of emancipation the negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates which had neither owners or managers resident upon them. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors where there were inferior agents to guide them; and on these estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before.

"With the time allotted for the extinction of slavery there would be no difficulty in disposing of your population.

"My object has been to convince you, if possible, of the expediency, safety, and happy results of emancipation. It may not be improper for me to add that I think that it will appear, by investigation, that it would ultimately add to the pecuniary advantage of your section. 'Cotton,' you say, 'is king.' Very well. You would like to have him continue to reign. Attempts are making,

you know, in various parts of the world, to take the crown from his head; and no doubt, in part, from the existence of the very 'Institution' which your people hug with so much tenacity. England is, evidently, to a very great extent, dependent upon the South in her manufacture of cotton. She intends to be free, and that for various reasons. Let me show you a few figures on that head from an English report. In 1850 she imported 669,576,000 pounds, and in 1857, 969,318,000 pounds—an increase of three hundred million pounds in seven years. She did not obtain the increase from the United States. Where did she get it from? It was obtained from the following countries:

United States, ...	161,604,906 pounds.
Egypt, ...	5,910,730 "
West Indies, ...	1,184,667 "
East Indies, ...	131,465,402 "
Africa, and others, . . .	5,895,462 "

"These figures disclose remarkable results touching the capacity of these cotton growers to keep pace with the world's demand for cotton. Africa and other minor regions increased their production within a fraction of three hundred per cent. in seven years; the East Indies, one hundred and eleven per cent.; the West Indies, over six hundred per cent.; Egypt, nearly thirty-one per cent.; and the United States only thirty-four and one eighth per cent.;—showing, that in ability to increase the cotton product, the free labor countries have far outstripped the slaveholding regions. But let us take the full term of fourteen years from 1843 to 1857. Within that period the cotton countries increased their shipments to England, as follows:

United States, ...	15 per cent.
Egypt, ...	140 "
Brazil, ...	54 "
East Indies, ...	288 "
Africa, and others, ...	300 "

"If, then, one term of fourteen years has given birth to so formidable a competition with American cotton, where will the latter be at the end of another like period? Taking the import of England in 1857, as the basis, and assuming the increase of the succeeding fourteen years to be the same ratio as during the last, the production, in 1871, will be as follows:—

East Indies,	720,973,853	pounds.
West Indies,	866,149,800	"
Africa, and others,	23,758,480	"
United States,	752,971,754	"
Brazil,	45,464,464	"
Egypt,	31,216,849	"

"This ratio of increase may be fairly assumed, in those vast regions where the growth of cotton is now stimulated by British capital and enterprise. It is hardly possible that the exhausted lands of the south could do this. But granting the same ratio, this gives a total of 2,440,535,000 pounds. Take from it the 654,758,046 pounds, which England took from this country, in 1857, and the remainder is 1,785,777,154 pounds. Now the whole British import in that year, was 969,318,836 pounds, or 299,741,972 more than in 1850, an increase of nearly 45 per cent. Under an increase of this magnitude, occurring every fourteen years, her consumption, in 1871, would be 1,405,512,312 pounds. Such an increase of cotton manufacture is by no means probable. But granting it to be so, the free labor countries will have all this ready for her spindles, and nearly 400,000,000 pounds more. Her vast manufacturing machinery can thus be kept running, without consuming a single pound of American cotton.

"It is apparent that, in 1871, production will outstrip consumption. The world will then have too much cotton. England will then have from her own possessions in India, more cotton than we now produce, even on the most favorable supposition as to the increase.

"Now, then, what has been the leading motive for these extraordinary efforts in the production of cotton? It is very evident it has been a determination on the part of the people of England to have no connection, if possible, with cotton raised by slave labor. 'For twenty years, her people have been educated, by the press and the pulpit, and from the hustings, to regard slavery with horror. Her citizens have combined together, with ample capital, to find some mode by which the nation might break away from this great evil. Cotton countries have been explored, and beginnings made, which have already realized the most sanguine expectations, and assure complete emancipation.' Her late sympathy with rebeldom has greatly lessened the respect of Christendom for her.

"To change this current of thought, and lessen the efforts to cultivate this material in other countries, nothing could be more effectual than for the South, at this auspicious moment, to adopt some measure that would convince the world of their intention to bring to an end a system so contrary to the spirit of the age, and so much condemned by the enlightened nations of the earth.

"We have unoccupied lands enough to cultivate to supply the world, and with a system of free labor, we could do it.

"If the foregoing figures approximate any thing like truth, what will your negro population be worth in 1876, leaving out of the question, the guilt of the system.

"Happy would it be for this people if reason should now prevail, and the projectors of the mad scheme of rebellion could be hurled from their places of fancied power.

"But depend upon it, South, that the Goverment of the United States will never yield one inch of their domain, nor surrender one sentence of the principles of freedom embodied in their Constitution, while a drop of blood courses in the veins of their people, or a dime remains to be expended in defense of that instrument, or a shot is left in the locker. What do you say, friend South?"

"I have only to say that it is equally true that the men and their associates who originated the conflict, intend to continue it till they have attained their object. I am convinced, however, that these hostilities ought to cease. Your project I like, and I am quite sure that if the sentiments which you have expressed could be brought before the southern mind, they would do much to produce a conciliatory spirit—at all events, I am willing to join you in the following declaration:

"We, the undersigned, being fully impressed with the importance of the preservation of the Union of these United States, and believing that every appropriate effort should be made to maintain it, we are of the opinion that some such plan as before expressed, would result in restoring tranquillity to the various sections of our country, and plant our free institutions on a basis never again easily to be moved. We would therefore present the foregoing suggestions to the consideration of the people of these American States.

"Jonathan Jefferson South,
"Jonathan Franklin North."

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